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HOUSE TYPES 3

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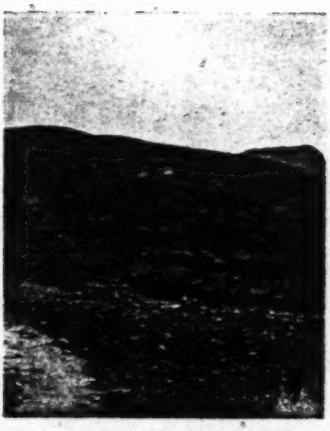

Cantonal mosque, Iberrasen, Gzennaya

Village mosque, left, and school, right, Tezarin, Taghzuth

764]

Zouia of the Ikemrijen, on Tisi Ifri between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir, showing wooden *amijimath*

Ornate saint's tomb, Suk et Tnine, Taghzuth

[p.66 (B)]

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342 shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcass down, and the meat is made into festive food.

The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams too are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques. *The Moorish arch* in doors and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

Domes are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Riffianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Riffian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

Tiled roofs are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

Tents. The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa* braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driss, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π. The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *iamuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aghiur n usun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *izhashen*, sepa-

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CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

MOSQUES AND SAINTS' TOMBS

346 THERE are three types of building which serve both social and religious purposes: the *thamεyitha n jkhothbath*, or cantonal mosque,[1] the *thamεajoth*, or village mosque,[2] and the *amrabi* (plural *imrabten*) or saint's tomb.[3]

The first, the cantonal mosque, is a large edifice, common to the whole *canton*, and to it come all the people of the *canton* for worship. It can be readily distinguished from lesser mosques by the fact that it bears a flag, green in the morning and white in the afternoon.

The second is the mosque of the *bone*, and there is one for each *bone* in the *canton*.

764 778 The third, the saint's tomb, may be a structure of some magnitude, a mere pile of stones, or simply an unmarked but nevertheless well-known place. It is supposed to be the grave of a saint, although often it is merely some place noted for the possession of some unusual natural feature, such as a large boulder, a spring, or a clump of trees, revered long before the advent of Islam. Whether it be a definite building, a marker, or merely a place, in any case it fulfills a definite function.

358 346 In each of these three types of religious edifice there is one man who has been appointed to take care of it, the *mokaddem* (plural *mokaddemin*) or "warden,"[4] who may be a man of learning or, in some cases, illiterate. He is the janitor and general caretaker. He brushes the floor, sees that the mats on them are in good repair, hoists the flag on the cantonal mosque, and occasionally substitutes as muezzin for the incumbent of this mosque.

428 794 The mosques and saints' tombs acquire land in a number of ways. When a man dies childless, and is displeased with his wife for having borne him no sons, or for some other reason, he may will a share of his land to the cantonal or village mosque or to a local saint's tomb. If he has sons but is not pleased with them, he may leave a share of his property to a mosque or tomb and the rest to his children.

[764] If, when about to die, he wishes to be buried within the mosque, he may buy his burial place with land to be given the mosque after his death. In this way he is interred under the floor of one of the rooms, and the warden has charge of the property so willed.

794 358 The warden of each public edifice has charge of the land belonging to it, and receives a portion of the produce. He does the farming on the land and cares for the trees, but if there is too much for him to do the village council enlists poor people to work with him, as previously related.

794 1485 Any mosque, be it of the *canton* or merely of the *bone*, and any saint's tomb capable of providing shelter, serves as a free hotel for Riffians travelling from tribe to tribe. Lay

[1] From the Arabic *masjida el khutba*, meaning the "mosque of the Friday sermon."

[2] Likewise from *masjida*, and meaning literally "mosque."

[3] From the Arabic *mura'bat*. This word means either "living saint" or "dead saint"; the meaning given applies to the deceased variety and to the superstructure erected over his remains.

[4] This Arabic word is also employed to designate the "moderator" of the village council, as well as the "moderator" of the council of the great. See p. 96.

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use them when in the presence of Arabs, lest the purpose of these names be misunderstood, for the Arabs would think that a man bearing his mother's name was illegitimate, and would ridicule him. For this reason the use of matronyms will probably soon die out.

Besides regular names, certain titles are in use. *Si* is prefixed to a man's name if he be a preceptor, schoolmaster, or clerk, or even a student proficient in reading and writing. *Sidi* is applied only to a reputed descendant of the prophet. The equivalent title *Mulai* is not known in the Rif, but is in use in the Senhaja Sghir, especially in Taghzuth, where a large part of the population, justly or otherwise, claims Sherifian blood.

THE FIRST HAIRCUT

The next event of importance in the life of the child is its first haircut. In the central tribes and the Senhaja it occurs after the expiration of a year; among the others, after six months. The former is the case in Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Gzennaya, and all the Senhaja.

On the day decided on for the first haircut, the father takes a goat to the cantonal mosque and gives it to the students, who sacrifice and eat it. One of the students returns with the father and shaves the child's head, leaving a single lock standing out on the occiput. With some of the hair he makes a necklace, which is tied around the child's neck; the rest he takes out with him and buries secretly. After this the father and mother and immediate family, generally the entire *tein*, hold a small feast.

The scalp lock which the student has left is kept uncut until the death of the individual, and after that event is used by the students washing the body as a convenient handle wherewith to turn the corpse without touching the flesh. The origin of the Berber scalp lock is lost in antiquity, since it is one of the earliest features of Berber culture to be recorded in history.[1]

The position of the lock on the occiput differs among the tribes, there being three places where it may be left; the right occiput, the left occiput, and the center of the occiput, just below lambda. The lock when worn on the left is called *thazhtoshth*, when on the right *thai'iyeshth*, when in the middle *themzurth*.

Distribution of the left scalp lock: Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Shawia, Jebarna. It is also worn by the Ulad Stut, Beni Ukil, the Arabs of Msun, and the Beni Znassen. It is called the Zenatan type.

Distribution of the right scalp lock: Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, rest of Gzennaya, some in Tafersit, Targuist, Western and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Hamid. This is called the Senhajan type, and is worn by the Beni Zerwal, the Mtiwa dial Jbil, and by what few individuals of the Ghomara occasionally leave this lock. It is likewise worn by certain families of Fezzis, and by all of the Braber, who claim Senhajan origin.

Distribution of the median scalp lock: Beni Urriaghel,[2] Beni Amart, Bokoya, Maritimes, Zarket, Beni Beshir, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Shibet, and Beni Mesduy.

[1] Bates, pp. 134–137.

[2] Westermarck (p. 413) states that the Beni Urriaghel wear the lock on the *right* side, and that this lock is called *themzurt*. I have never seen an Urriaghli with his scalp lock anywhere but in the middle of his occiput; and the word which Westermarck uses to denote the right lock is really the name of the median lock.

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DEATH AND BURIAL

When a man or a woman has died, the first consideration is to have the corpse washed. In the case of a man, this is done by an old man whose person and clothes are clean, or by a student from the cantonal mosque. Two or three students stand by to assist him in bringing water and throwing it on the corpse. In the case of a woman it is an old woman who does the washing with other women helping. The corpse is first washed in hot water, then cold water is thrown on. The washing is done with a woolen cloth, which is afterward

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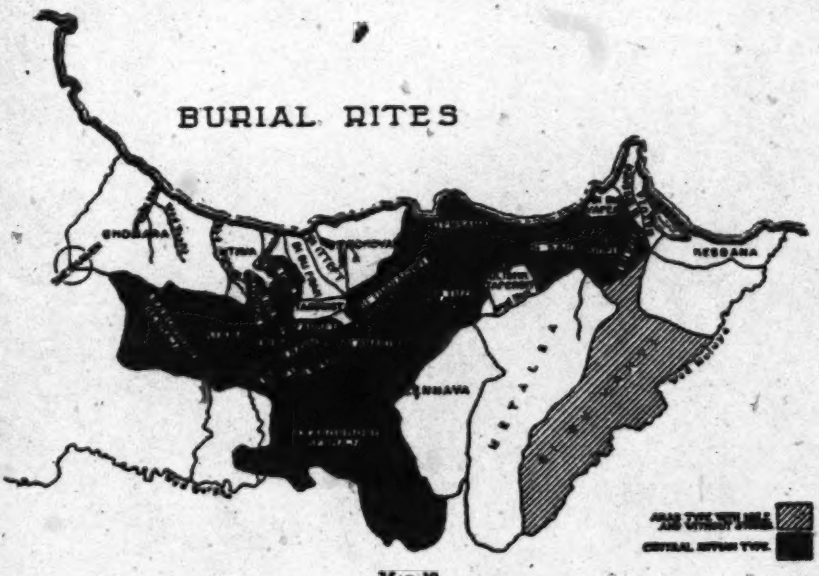

MAP 19

thrown away, along with the pot which held the water for washing. After this the corpse is wrapped in a sheet, formerly wool and now cotton.

If the victim dies early enough so that his burial may be effected by *el asr*, or four o'clock in the afternoon, he is buried on the day of his decease; if he dies too late his corpse must be kept in the house all night in its shroud. The corpse must not be left in the dark, so a light is left burning with it.

Students are summoned, as many as the family can afford, to sit in the room with the corpse and chant most of the night. They must chant sixty *hoiseb*, or four times sixty chapters of the Koran, since a *hoiseb* is four chapters; they thus chant the whole book. Each one is assigned a different part to chant, so that they may cover the ground the more quickly. If the family be poor and only a few students have been summoned, they may not

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764 get through the whole Koran in time. The family supplies them with food which they eat when tired of chanting.

When the corpse is ready for burial, be it on the day of decease or the next day, the whole village comes out to attend the procession and funeral. The women are represented only by the older married women.

The corpse, resting on the door of the village mosque, is carried by four men, constantly changing, so that everyone in the village may be said to have borne it part of the way. Each man runs up and takes a corner of the door for a few feet, when he is replaced by another. In this way the corpse is carried to the cemetery. If, as often happens, the mosque door comes apart on the way (for it is but loosely tied together), the corpse must be set on the ground while the door is being repaired. In each place where the corpse is thus laid a stone must be set up.

[804] Arrived at the place of burial, some of the men busy themselves with digging the grave. It consists of two holes, one inside the other. The upper hole must be twelve foot-measures long, a leg-straddle wide, and navel deep. The inner hole must be one span wide, the length of the corpse, measured with a rope, and knee deep. The corpse is put in the inner hole on its left side, its feet to the east. If the corpse is too thick to fit into the span-wide hole, it must be forced into it, since it is considered very bad for a corpse to be given a wider grave. When necessary, however, the ditch is widened, but at the expense of the soul of the deceased. Seven flat slabs of slate or other sedimentary stone are brought, having been shaped when necessary. They are laid over the inner grave crosswise, and dirt is piled in above them and the outer grave filled. While the corpse is resting on the bank, just before being set into the grave, the students chant the burial ritual from the Koran. As soon as the body is in the grave the women go away, and the men collect together in a circle and pray.

The pre-Islamic graves in the cemetery at Beni Hozmar, on the road between Sheshawen and Tetuan, can be distinguished from the later ones in the same cemetery by the fact that the former are orientated north and south. The graves at Aswil, on the border between the Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel, are similarly orientated. These graves are said to be pre-Islamic. I witnessed a funeral at Taghzuth, at which the grave was dug north and south, and the corpse buried with its head to the south. Three Riffians who were with me objected to this orientation, but their objection was not heeded. The men taking part in the interment argued that the direction was east and west, obviously an evasion, since at that moment the sun was about to set directly at right angles to the axis of the grave. Since this burial took place during the week of the summer solstice, the orientation must have been almost due north and south. On account of the sensitiveness of the Taghzuthis on this point I was unable to obtain any but visual information concerning the persistence of this custom.

A flat stone, usually artifically shaped, is erected at head and feet; in the case of a man the stones are parallel to each other, and at right angles to the axis of the body; in the case of a woman, the headstone is set in the axis line and at right angles to the footstone.

764 171 The type of burial described above is typical of the central regions of the Rif. In the east, and among the maritime tribes, the custom in use is that employed in the Arabised section of Morocco in general. The body is buried at any time desired, no hesitation being felt at burying it in the night, or at leaving it alone and in the dark. It is carried to the grave on a rug by four paid pall-bearers, accompanied by two paid grave-diggers carrying hoes. The immediate family may attend the burial, but the village as a whole does not.

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764 171

There are no students and no food is served in the house of the deceased afterwards, as is the case in the central Rif. According to the second method the grave is not measured by the navel, straddle, span, knee, and rope, but by rope alone. The first hole is estimated and the second is measured with a rope to fit the corpse. No compunction is felt at making the hole too large or small. The stones put at head and feet are round and the same for men and women. The body is not set down en route, since it is carried on a rug, hence there is no occasion for planting stones along the way. Under this system there is no prayer at the grave.

A third usage is that of the Beni Bu Yahyi, who carry their dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey, and bury it in a shallow hole with the surrounding dirt scraped over it into a mound. No stones are used, probably because stones are very rare in that country. The central Riffian type is found in Beni Bu Ifrur; Beni Sidel; Beni Said; that portion of Beni Ulishk lying near Temsaman; all of Beni Tusin except the village of el Azib of Meidhar; Beni Urriaghel; Temsaman; Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Al Fars, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Iherrassen, Ikaroen, Ihershliyen, Temjunt, Bured, Inhanahan, Beni Yunes, and Beni Mohammed of Gsennaya; Beni Amart; and all the Senhaja and Ghomara.

The second type is found in Kebdana; Mazuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer; Metalsa; that part of Beni Ulishk near Dar Driush; el Azib of Meidhar of Beni Tuzin; Tafersit; Shawia, Imsdurar, and Khebaba of Gsennaya; Beni Meeduy; Targuist; Bokoya; Beni Itteft; Beni Bu Frah; Mestasa; and Mtiwa.

The type in which the corpse is carried on a mule is practiced among the Riffians only by the Beni Bu Yahyi; the nearby Arabs of the Ulad Bu Rima, however, use that method.

Although all the factors connected with death and burial which have been described seem to fit together as opposing complexes without overlapping, there is one other trait which has a different distribution. All of the men in the *bone* must sleep in the house for seven days after the death. Any stranger who is in the house at the actual time of the death must sleep there with them. During the seven days, members of neighboring *bones* which are well disposed towards that of the deceased must visit the house to express their condolences to the family.

The women express their grief by weeping and sometimes by scratching their faces and disarranging their hair, but do not put on any costume which marks them as widows. Among the Beni Amart the widows frequently entertain visitors with long recitations of the virtues of their husbands.

763 friends is capable of performing this task. The recitation should be continued till the moment of death, but no longer, its object being to shorten the agony. The chapter considered most suitable for this occasion is the suratu 'r-ra'd, which is called s-sahliya because it makes death easier. For a similar purpose a little honey is put into the mouth of the dying person, and at the last moment some water is dripped into it to moisten his throat. If his teeth are clenched, which is sometimes supposed to indicate that he has led a sinful life (Ait Waryager), some cotton or [435] wool is soaked in water mixed with honey and then pressed against his teeth.

When life is extinct, or sometimes when a person is at the point of death, his eyes and mouth, if open, are closed. It is believed that if he dies with open eyes or, at all events, if they are left open, somebody else of his family or kin will die before long (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden).

[436] Among the Ait Waryager, also, the women of the family and those who come to condole only weep in another room.

[442] As soon as the death becomes known it is the custom for friends to pay a visit of condolence to the family of the deceased.

[443] Among the Ait Waryager the women who come to the house bring flour, while the male condolers assist the men of the family in their preparations for the funeral.

764 Very shortly after death the body of the deceased is washed, at least if he died at so early an hour that the burial can take place on the same day.

[445] The body is washed with warm water, and certain parts of it with soap or scented soap-stone (gasul). The person who performs the act, after washing his own hands, says the bismillah and states inwardly his intention to wash the dead one: —Allahumma inni nawit gasl l-miyit . He then washes the genital region very carefully with a towel, which is left there. He washes the lips and the teeth three times, and the nose the same number of times. All these parts of the body are washed with the left hand. He washes with both hands the face and the right and the left hand and arm to the elbow, all three times. He passes his wet hands once from the forehead to the nape and back again. After again wetting his fingers he puts the forefingers into the ears and passes the thumbs behind their backs. Taking water with the right hand he washes with the left the feet as

764 as high as the ankles, first the right and then the left, three times apiece or more if they are dirty. He then recites the profession of the fatih, unless he has, prematurely, done so before, when passing his hands over the crown and back of the head. This ablution, which is called l-wudu, is followed by the so-called gasl l-miyit . The upper part of the dead body is raised into a sitting position. The washer fills his open hands with water three times and washes the head. With his right hand he washes the inside of the right ear and with his left hand that of the left ear, and washes in a similar manner the backs of the ears. With water poured out by his assistant he then washes the remaining parts of the body in the following order: the right and the left sides from the neck to the knee; the back; the foreside from the chin [446] downwards to the end of the stomach, giving particular attention to the navel; and the right and the left leg from the knee to the ankle. After this he recites once more the profession of the faith. These ablutions must be performed on the day when the dead person is to be buried, even though he had died and been washed on the day before. In such a case, however, the first washing is generally of a very simple character. There may also be a preliminary washing if the death and the burial take place on the same day.

Precautions have to be taken with the water which has been used for the washing of the corpse. It is bad to tread on it. If anybody does so the skin of his feet will chap (Ulad Bu'aziz, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[447] When the body has been washed it is dressed. Once more the big toes are, in many cases, tied together, and the jaws are bound up.

[448] Among the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman the body is dressed in "drawers" (ssarwar, ssawar), "shirt" (ssammir, ttsammir), "turban" (da'mand, arazzet), and "slippers" (iharkusen, ihakas), and is then wrapped up in a shroud (rehfen, resfen).

[450] Among the Ait Temsaman scribes are reciting the tabarak while the body is being washed and dressed, but no recitations are made at night. The case is different among the Ait Waryager and the Ait Sadden, as also in the Hiaina, if the family can afford to employ scribes for nightly recitations.

[451] The time when the deceased is buried depends on the hour of his death.

164 The dead person is said to be anxious to be buried as soon as possible and to "complain of his family" if it is not done. Among the Ait Waryager there is the [452] opposite belief: the departed is too fond of his old home to like to be hurried into the grave, though his people want to bury him quickly. The burial is among them postponed till the following day even if the death occurred shortly after mid-day, and it is said never to take place after 'asar.

[454] Among the Ait Waryager, also, the bier, after being carried out of the house by four men including some member of the family, is placed in the yard (azqaq), from which all the animals have been previously removed so as not to see or hear the dead person; it is believed that he is weeping and that animals can hear it, though men can not, and that they would become sorry if they heard it. The scribes recite the hezb yastabsiruna, contained in the fourth chapter of the Koran (suratu 'n-nisa'), and nobody is then allowed either to weep or talk. After the recitation all the people make fatha, one of the scribes asking God to be merciful to the dead person and to bestow his blessings on the living. Four persons take hold of the bier, and the women begin to cry. But if the departed was a bachelor or an unmarried girl one of the women, instead of crying, trills the zgarit, here called sriwriwen. Before the bier is carried out of the house a meal of meat and bread made of barley without yeast is served in the yard to the scribes and all others who are there on this occasion. But many persons do not like to partake of food served at a funeral, as such food is said to remain in the stomach for forty days.

[455] Everywhere it is considered meritorious to accompany a dead person to his grave; there is charity in every step—kull halfa b hasana. At Fez, Tangier, and other towns no women take part in the procession, and the same is very frequently the case in the country—for example, in Andjra and among the Bni 'Aros and other Arabic-speaking mountain tribes, among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager.

[456] In many other places the procession is headed by a band of scribes, and after them come the men carrying the corpse (Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ulad Bu'aziz, Amanuz); but among the Ait Waryager the bearers go first, after them the scribes, and then the other men and boys.

164 In some country places it is believed that if an accident happens
197 to the bier on the way to the cemetery (Ulad Bu'aziz), or if the funeral

764 [787] procession stops (Ait Waryager), somebody else in the village will soon die. Among the Ait Waryager, when the procession passes a house, some water is thrown from it on the bier and the [457] men carrying it, in order to avert the pollution of death from the house.

On the arrival at the cemetery imadran [Ait Waryager], the bier is placed at the side of the grave andar [Ait Waryager], ander [Temsaman] [Temsaman], and the prayer for the dead is said, unless it has been already done at a mosque.

[458] The body is laid in the grave on its right side with the face turned towards Mecca, the shroud is opened at head and foot, other bandages are also untied, and in the case of a man the "turban" which has been drawn over the face is removed from it. Among the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman the fqi fills his hand with earth and keeps it closed over the dead person's face, reciting in a low voice a chapter of the Koran, one of his own choice, and, still continuing the recitation, strews the earth on the face and on the shroud covering the other parts of the body; but if water from the well Zemzem is available he sprinkles the face and the shroud with the water instead of earth, and in such a case no recitation from the Koran is made.

Boards or flat stones—called in Arabic lahd and in Berber lalhud (Ait Sadden), a jah (Temsaman), ikfafn (Amanuz)—are placed across the ledges formed by the narrow trough, at the bottom of the grave, in which the body is lying, without touching it. Their number should be an odd one—three, five, seven, or nine, according to their size; if, for example, four were sufficient to cover the body, a small one would nevertheless be added in order to avoid the even number (Ait Sadden). Among the Ait Waryager seven boards are used, and they [459] believe that if this number were exceeded there would soon be another death.

Among the Ait Waryager water is poured on the grave either when closed or on the following morning; and if any water is left from the occasion when the body was washed, it is taken to the cemetery to be poured out together with the other water.

[460] An upright stone, or sometimes a board, is placed at the head of the grave, and very frequently another one at the foot; such a stone or board, or that at the head only, is called in Arabic l-meshad or s-sahed, "the witness", and in Berber ssahad (Aid Sadden), damenzwit (Ait Waryager), or tamenzust (Temsaman).

764 Among the Ait Waryager the bamboo cane with which the body was measured is broken and the pieces are put on the grave.

764 767 [464] The washers of the body are paid in towns and many places in the country (Bni 'Aros, Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager), but in other places they do their work gratuitously (Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Amanuz, Aglu). Among the Ait Waryager the clothes of the dead person are taken to the cemetery and given to the fqi and the other scribes, who sell them on the spot and divide the money they get for them, as well as the other money given to them by the family. The latter are afraid of using them, said a man from a neighbouring tribe, the Ait Temsaman, but among his own people there is no such fear. Very frequently the clothes of the deceased are given away in charity or sold.

765 767 776] When all other persons have left the cemetery the fqi remains there to perform an important function. On the first night the dead person spends in his grave—called lilt l-wahdaniya, or "the night of solitude"—he is supposed to be visited by angels, who come and examine him and, if they find fault with him, punish him by flogging. At Fez these so-called mlaik swal, or "angels of asking", are, in agreement with the general Muhammadan belief, said to be Sidna Nakir and Munkir, but most people speak of the former only. The scribes of Dukkala are somewhat uncertain as to their number; I was told that the shab s-swal, "the friends of asking", may be three or two or only one—who can know? But the questions were said to be asked in the grave, and the punishment inflicted, by Sidna 'Azrain, that is 'Azra'il, the angel of death, mentioned in the Koran under the title of malaku 'l-maut, who comes to a man at the [465] hour of death to carry his soul away from the body. The same popular belief is found elsewhere (Tangier, Ait Waryager); at Marraksh I was told that the angel 'Azrain examines the dead in their graves and, if dissatisfied with the answers, beats them with an iron rod. It is thus of great importance that the dead person should know how to answer the questions put to him, and it is in order to instruct him in this that the fqi remains at the grave. He bows down over it and, in giving his instructions, addresses the deceased as the son or daughter of such or such a woman, mentioning the mother's name only. The answers may before the interment have been written on a paper, and this so-called msaula put underneath the dead person's head when he was buried, but this does

765 not make the oral instruction of the fqi superfluous. He should
767 answer his examiner thus: Allahu rabbi wa l-islamu dini wa l-ka'batu qiblati wa l-qor'anu imami wa Muhammadun nabiyi, "Allah is my Lord and Islam is my religion and the Ka'bah is my qiblah and the Koran is my director and Muhammad is my prophet". It is said that if the dead man was a scribe the Koran will give the answers on his behalf (Ulad Bu'aziz, Tangier, Ait Waryager.

In some parts of the country I found the belief that the dead person is examined on the first night, even though he still remains in his home (Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

764 [468] In many places, on the other hand, there is no general funeral banquet after the burial on the same day. In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager the family of the deceased, if in good circumstances, may ask the scribes to come back to the house to recite the fedya or to make recitations from the Koran or even to read the whole of it during the night, and a meal—in Andjra called t-ta'am de 'asa l-qbar—is given to them; but this meal forms part of their fee.

765 [469] After the day of burial there are still various customs and rites observed in connection with the deceased.

[470] Among the Amanuz no food must be cooked in the house on the day of burial and the two following days, neighbours providing the family with food, and I was told of a similar taboo at Amzmiz. The Ait Waryager refrain from making seksu and bread with yeast during those days.

[471] I was also told in Dukkala that no wedding must be celebrated by a near relative of the deceased within forty days, and the same rule is observed in many other places (Fez, Tetuan, Tangier, Bni 'Aros, Sahel, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz). Among the Ait Waryager there must be no wedding in the whole village.

[472] Among various tribes the family of the deceased must for forty days refrain from changing their clothes or washing them, at least with soap (Andjra, Sahel, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz), the men from having their heads shaved (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz).

[473] A widow's mourning (l-adda) lasts, according to the Muhammadan law, four months and ten days; but in some places in Morocco it has been reduced by custom to four months (Aglu, Ait Waryager), three months and ten days (Ait Waryager).

798
764 2) Funeral Rites Contrary to Sunna: the funeral chant invoking the name of God which is started up when the body is lifted up to be taken to the cemetery (and this is done in the Rif) is rejected as bad (sic). A man should not place himself facing Mecca during the funeral prayer (at the grave) (sic); nor should the body be oriented in this direction (sic) nor should its shroud be pierced (in the Rif, in Ibuq-quyen, a hold is pierced in the nose of the shroud), nor can a stick be nailed perpendicularly to the grave (this is done in the Rif[20]); and the catching...in the act by someone of the body being buried or of the recitation of the hizb[21] of the Koran is like lighting the three lights in agony.[22]

798
302 3) Deceits and Frauds in the 'Aid: men should not put henna on
562 their hands and should not shake hands with women, as this is sinful.
794 Getting meals in the mosque is very bad, as are petitions (of gifts)
769 to the imam[23] after the prayer of the 'Aid; and visiting the cemetery on feast days is also bad, as these are days of happiness[23a]. (In the Rif all these practices are observed[24]).

798
585 4) Weddings: It is very bad to mark the doors of the house of either the bride or the groom with blood (this is done in the Rif[25]), and so is firing rifle shots in the bride's room on the day that the marriage is consummated[26]; so is touching the bride's clothing, or helping her mount the mule which is to take her to the groom's house, or helping her alight on arrival, or mounting the same animal behind her; and equally bad is someone showing up at the moment of union of the newly married couple or staying so near to them that he can hear them talking. Also, men playing in front of women and women dancing in

121 the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domes-
[553] tic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of
[585] the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumci-
[844] sion and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.
[852]
[764]

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather
844 insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she
sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives
[602] may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon
[782] (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed.
[556] While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assem-
[574] bled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so.
However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially
a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is
not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming
553 ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially
574 the second most important initiation ceremony in the society.
602 On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of
[114] his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during
553 which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the
574 child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to
602 be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed
431 but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by pre-
vious obligations established by gifts that the giver has received
from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money,
20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

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